THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

Vol. III, No. 25 | Telephone: DRYdock 1656 NEW YORK, N. Y. Saturday, June 28, 1930 | PRICE 5 CENTS

Jobless Millions Must Organize!

Demand Immediate Relief!

The National Unemployment Convention is to meet July 4th and 5th in Chicago. If it is animated by a sense of responsible and militant leadership and effective policies of class struggle—if it is not satisfied with noise but embarks on serious organization and action, this convention can become a protest centre for the mobilization of the millions of unemployed.

The danger is that under the present Party leadership with its erratic hand-to-mouth political practises the convention will develop into nothing more than just another formless mass meeting. It is common knowledge that not a stroke of real organization work has been done to crystallize the unemployed movement since the March 6th demonstrations.

No Signs of Ease-Up in Crisis

There are no signs of any alleviation in the economic crisis taking its toll of misery in every city, town and hamlet in the country. The bank discount rate has been sunk to two and a half per cent, the lowest since the war but the successive stock market crashes are assuming the character of a panic. Wheat is selling at a dollar. Automobile production has again registered a decline. Steel production is at 65 per cent capacity. The Commodity price level dropped 4.2 per cent in two weeks. The New York Census figures point to 400,000 unemployed in New York alone. The **Annalist** Index of Employment is the lowest since 1922.

The Industrial Reserve Army

The cyclical crisis has come to add its misery but it must be remembered that it only augments an already standing industrial reserve army—the victims of the technical advance of civilization under the rule of the anarchic capitalist mode of production. Every new machine, every business consolidation, every stop-watch economy for the speed-up, has resulted in fewer jobs. Between 1920 and 1927, the economist Mitchell estimates the number added to the ranks of the unemployment reserve army at no less than 650,000. This is the balance sheet of American "prosperity". The power that is the greatest creditor state in the world, of the most millionaires of the most abundant resources, the finest machinery, the most productive labor force is the tragic scene of soup-kitchens, flophouses, corporation charity, park benches and starvation for the working class. In an age when science begins to probe secrets of atomic energy, vast masses of producers must form up in bread-lines.

The General Crisis of Capitalism

What is the answer of the capitalist government to the unemployed The Hoover brand of mental healing. A Hawley-Smoot Tariff to increase the cost of the necessities of life and assure the Trusts the monopoly of the market. Even the miserable Wagner Bill for the establishment of official instead of private employment bureaux is euro out of court. At the Senate Investigation into Communist "plotting", even Wm. Green pleads with his capitalist masters that he will not guarantee to be able to keep the A.F. of L. rank and file in submission unless some small reforms are forthcoming.

The workers must be clear that even were the exploiters willing to grant them without struggle no mere palliatives or reforms could lead out of the blind alley of the antagonisms and contradictions of capitalits imperialism. Partial demands can only serve the working class if they are the starting point for revolutionary class struggle. The only decisive solution of the general crisis of capitalism in the interests of the millions of toilers lies in the international emulaton of the Russian workers. Only the revolutionary workers' state can release the forces of production from the exploiting vise of capital, put an end to industrial enslavement, eliminate the root causes of war and unify world economy.

The Socialist Five Year Plan

The Five Year Plan in the Soviet Union demonstrates the tremendous possibilities of planned economy. Despite capitalist economic encirclement, and the threat of intervention, the achievements of the U.S.S.R. stand out in splendid contrast to the intolerable situation in the capitalist world. The undeniable difficulties in the U.S.S.R. and the Five Year Plan are those of isolation, the retardation of the international revolution. The Five Year Plan provides for a total capital investment of 93 billions for electrification and industrial development. It is in the most vital interests of the international unemployed and especially of the American to demand large scale credits for the Soviet Union. There are always millions of dollars available for war expenditures. There are millions for the Young Plan loans. Demand credits be given that would at once result in the employment of American workers, and their participation in the realization of the socialist Five Year Plan.

Organize for Action!

The Chicago Unemployment Convention must appeal to the unemployed army with demands that will strike immediate and effective response in the hearts of the workers mobilizing them for the class struggle against the capitalist state.

Demand recognition and credits to the Soviet Union.

Demand the enactment of social insurance unemployment insurance and old age pensions to compel the capitalists to bear the charges for the break-down of the system. Demand the six hour day and five day week.

Demand the freedom of class war prisoners, the release of Mooney and Billings, of the leaders of the New York unemployed demonstrations, the prisoners in Georgia, class war victims under sentence in Gastonia.

Organize a united front of the unemployed and employed.

The power of the imperial plutocracy of America is great. But there is a power greater than theirs and that is the power of proletarian numbers . Mobilize and Organize! —MAURICE SPECTOR

N.Y. Party-Y.C.L. Group For Opposition

TO THE SEVENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE SIXTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

Dear Comrades

We, the undersigned Communists declare our solidarity with the Left Opposition. We announce our agreement with the views of the Left wing faction of the American Communist Party—the Communist League of America (Opposition). After a thorough examination of the Party and Young Communist League situation and the three viewpoints that exist in the Communist movement today, we have come to the conclusion that the only Marxian and Leninist view is the one maintained by the Left Opposition. This correct view of the national and international situation we are prepared to defend.

We declare our complete agreement with the Manifesto of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) addressed to the 7th National Convention of the Party. ("Back to Lenin" —The Militant, June 14, 1930). In our opinion the line laid down in this manifesto provides the only solution to the present Party crisis. This line must become the line of the Party. We further express our accord with the Platform adopted by the Left Opposition at its National Conference at Chicago, May 20, 1929, and which the course of events in the United States has fully confirmed.

To many of the comrades who know us and who have worked together with us in the Party and the Y.C.L. our stand will come as a sudden surprise. Of course there will be numerous bureaucrats and small-minded people who will now suddenly dis-

(Continued on Page 8)

A LECTURE
on the
ROAD OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

An exposition of the driving forces of the Indian Revolution, the struggle gaainst British Imperialism, the role of Ghandi, the treachery of the MacDonald Labor Government, the Comintern policy (Chinese experiences and India) and the position of the Left Communists.

at the

Stuyvesant Casino
9th St. and Second Ave., Room 22
WEDNESDAY, JULY 2nd at 8 p.m.

BY
MAURICE SPECTOR

of the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition) Comrade Maurice Spector was one of the witnesses—refused admission by the British Government—who were nominated to testify on their behalf by the trade unionist and revolutionary worker defendants in the great Meerut Sedition Trial now proceeding in India.

Auspices: New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition) Admission 25 Cents

Demonstrate for the Indian Revolution!

The New York District of the Communist Party has issued a call to all workers' organzation to join in a demonstration of solidarity with the Indian Revolution for Saturday, June 28 at 2:30 p.m. in front of the British consulate in Whitehall Street.

The New York Branch of the Communist League (Opposition) will itself participate in this demonstration and urges all class coscious workers to do likewise. Demonstrate for the complete independence of India from British Imperialist! For the alliance of the workers and peasants of India under the leadership of the industrial proletariat against the treacherous policies of Gandhi and the Indian bourgeoisie! Demonstrate against the Imperialist MacDonald Labor Government and the Second International! For the emancipation of the Phillipines from American Imperialism!

Bureaucrats Rule C.P. Convention

The seventh annual convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is now in session. The opening was at Madison Square Garden, Friday June 20.

The calibre of the discussion at the convention has so far been on the same mediocre level as the so-called "pre-convention discussion" in the **Daily Worker**. No one dares, nor is competent to raise fundamental questions of principles and policy. The apparatus-bureaucrats watch each other closely for every "deviation". Every slip of a fellow-bureaucrat means an opening to "work oneself up" one notch higher in a career.

We have already indicated in our manifesto to the Party membership the terrific gap that exists between the possibilities for the revolutionary movement in America and the paralytic ineffectiveness of the C. P. under the "third period" leadership of the Centrists. There is much that can be added by way of concrete illustration, and we propose to estimate the complete results of the convention on its conclusion.

Meanwhile rumblings are heard of the latest late turn of Stalin in the discussions on the economic crisis and the "third period". Bedacht has at last begun to talk of the present economic crisis as a "cyclical crisis in the period of the general decline of capitalism" and not as the immediate acute revolutionary crisis of Stalin-Molotov's imagination. A certain "Merker" tendency has consequently been virtuously repelled by the Browder-Bedacht "Old Guard". Such a "leader" as Sam Don accused them of entertaining "exceptionalism" because they did not emphasize the acute revolutionary crisis sufficiently. Don was ridiculed out of court and told to go back to the Party school.

The Canadian Party representative—a little adventurer named S. Smith who received the letters patent to the leadership of the Canadian Party with his sheepskin diploma from the "Lenin School", also accused Browder and Company of opportunism—for their too conservative estimate of the "third period"—and was duly castigated.

But this slight advance towards political sanity by Bedacht and Company is still a mere drop in the bucket of their swollen theorizings about "social fascism" etc.—those "tenth plenum" analyses that so thoroughly stultified the political influence of the Communist Parties.

What in brief is the balance sheet of stalinism at the present convention? In the leadership of the Party—a bureaucracy clinging to office by the most desperate acts of servility to the higher-ups in the Comintern hierarchy—at the bottom an apathetic and terrorized membership—an

(Continued on Page 5)

In Canada

Stalinist Officials Sabotage Communist Unity

TORONTO—

The Canadian Federal election conference organized by the Communist Party should be a striking proof to the members of the Party and YC.L. and Left wing workers in what a dangerous impasse the Stalinist bureaucrats have brought the revolutionary movement. I have attended what I thought were raw conferences but nothing like the one pulled off by the Party leadership recently.

Officialdom Bars Opposition Communists

At the conference were present many C.P. members but very few from other organizations. Outside of the Industrial Union representing a handful of workers, no other unions were represented. The conference was typified by the Stalinist brand of the united front from below, the steam roller edict from the chair of no discussion and criticism, correction or question, long-winded speeches from the Party functionaries, and no discussion from the floor except that initiated by the Communist League of America (Opposition) members.

The narrow bureaucratic spirit that ruled the meeting was strikingly expressed in the manner in which the C.L. of A. representatives were barred from the conference. "The credential committee decides not to accept the representatives of the organization calling itself the Communist League of America (Opposition)on the grounds that they disagree with the principles and policies of the C.P." The chairman, "You have all heard the decision of the credential committee, I want no discussion—all those in favor." But there was discussion. Comrade Quarter, representative of his Industrial Union local stood up and fought the ruling till he was shut up. The Party officialdom did have to discuss and try hard and unsuccessfully to explain.

In his statement, comrade Quarter protested against the steamroller tactics for the suppression of discussion. He pointed out that in the conference call nothing had been said about the necessity of one hundred per cent agreement with the Party program in order to be allowed to send delegates. Moreover "Socialist" parties and other organizations that the Communists fight tooth and nail were admitted while the Communist League were barred. The Communist League agreed with the Party election program and would support it actively and financially. Our comrades would speak at the election meetings, etc. The members of the Communist League (Opposition) were nearly all **workers from the shop and factory.** They had been the most active members in the Party and Y.C.L. before their expulsion for fightng bureaucratism and opportunism.

The Opposition (Left) is fighting for its re-instatement in the Party and Youth League on the basis of the right to maintain their Communist principles. These air-tight bureaucratically manipulated conferences doomed them to impotence in advance.

But the Poale Zionists are Seated

The conference had hardly settled down to its ifelessness when a crisis loomed up again with the arrival of delegates of the Jewish National Workers Left Poale Zion Organization, who had been invited by the Party. The situation was the result of their own bureaucratic blindness. A hurried caucus and the credential committee had again to go out to try and figure out some explanation. They came back with the recommendation that the Poale Zion were renegades, but they could remain in the Conference if they accepted the Party Program. This brought the Zionist delegates to their feet, "they had been invited to support the Communist Party candidates not the C.P. program. Didn't the C.P. know they were a political organization as well as they, and what was more they didn't agree with the C.P. program or tactics." The superdramatic Annie Buller, now stood up to implore the Zionist delegates that it was in the best interests of the labor movement for them to remain renegades. They were allowed to remain in spite of their categoric refusal to accept the Party program, 6th World Congress, etc.

Opposition Slogan For Soviet Credits.. Rejected

The delegates who now, that they had accepted the third period and the Sixth World Congress, were asked to raise their hands for the election program, that the Party functionary had just finished reading. The chairman remarking to a question of our representatives that all discussion and criticism was out of order and if there were any present that didn't agree, they knew what to do. Our representative as before took the floor anyway and asked the conference to discuss the following to be embodied in the election program. **"That long term credits be given to the Soviet Union to help temporarily to relieve the growing unemployment and at the same time, assist the Russian workers in the socialist construction".** At first the chairman tried to remain deaf and dumb to the proposal but when Harry Clairman, insisted on asking the chair if they were against the proposal the storm again broke loose.

To sum up. The conference should be a powerful lesson to the Party, Y.C.L. and Left wing workers as to why the Party is so badly disorganized and continues to lose ground from day to day. The bureaucratic regime will continue to destroy the Party ideologically and organizationally as long as the members are satisfied to remain a Party not of militant Communists but of hand raisers.

For the Communist League of America (Opposition) it marks another step forward in the fight for the regeneration of the Party and against the bureaucracy. Our member brought down a half dozen copies of the Militant. They were grabbed up in less than one minute. Our representative was also elected on the executve of 20 together with some 19 other Party members. —M.Q.

Our National Tour

MEETINGS MARK LEFT ADVANCE

Since the last reports on the National Tour of comrade Max Shachtman for the Communist League of America (Opposition) successful meetings have been held in St. Paul and Duluth, Minnesota, Superior, Wisconsin, Kansas City and St. Louis, Mo. Despite the terrific mid-summer heat, there has been an excellent attendance and the keenest interest displayed in comrade Shachtman's survey of the world situation and the role of the Left Opposition, the important visit of Shachtman, representing the Communist League, to L.D. Trotsky at Constantinople, the unification conference of the German Left Opposition at Berlin, and the preliminary Conference of the International Left Opposition in Paris.

Good Results in Duluth

At Duluth, Minn. seventy persons assembled among whom were a number of Finnish Party members, who heckled Shachtman feebly at the beginning, but who were soon silenced by the barrage of facts about the true situation in the Comintern. Discussion ensued, in which one Sankari, a Finnish youth with aspirations to be a Stalinist commissar for the Finnish section, spoke for half an hour. His own supporters finally stopped him after which the speaker, Shachtman, answered questions and made his concluding remarks. This is the first time an Opposition mass meeting has been held in Duluth and the meeting was a moral success

Superior, Wisconsin

At Superior, Wisconsin, 50 workers turned up at the meeting. Many questions were put to the speaker, including questions on the position of the Left Opposition on the situation in the Cooperatives, to which Shachtman replied in full. Our position in this respect has been outlined in the columns of the Militant. The youthful elements, young comrades in the Y.C.L. have the soundest attitude on the basic issues before the Communist movement, and there are prospects for Opposition growth among them. A number of the audience voiced pleasure at the report of comrade Shachtman.

Leading Party members present at Shachtman's lecture in St. Paul, Minn. were literally begged to state their views after Shachtman's speech. After much goading, one of them announced an unemployment meeting and another mumbled some remarks about the 500 (!) members of the National Miners Union in the Minnesota district. Thirty attended the meeting.

The attendance at the Chicago and Minneapolis meetings, commented on briefly in the last issue of the Militant were 125 and 100 respectively. There was much satisfaction in all respects with the results.

Kansas City and St. Louis

Despite equatorial heat (the temperature had climbed to 100 degrees) there were turnouts of 50 and 40 at the meetings in Kansas City and St. Louis. There were a number of free admissions, as elsewhere, due to unemployment. The meetings of the C.P. are not as well attended, since the advent of the Third Period.

A supporter of the Communist Party in Kansas City, one Sol Morris, developed the logic of the Third Period. He declared in the discussion period apropos of Norway's refusal of a visa to comrade Trotsky that **"against the Trotskyites, the Communists (!) should unite with the Monarchists!"** Morris was properly "plastered" by the speaker after these remarks and the audience applauded Shachtman vigorously.

At Kansas City a banquet was also held.

In St. Louis, Jenkins of the Steamfitters Union also spoke on behalf of the Molders' Mooney Committee, and the meeting adopted a resolution for the release of Mooney Billings, the framed New York Communists, Foster, Minor, Amter. Raymond and the Georgia defendants now on trial for their lives.

At all of the meetings, a good deal of literature has been sold, new contacts and members secured and the enthusiasm engendered in the Communist League, gives high hope for increased activity in all fields by the Left Opposition. Comrade Shachtman also is reporting to the Branches of the League and taking up special and concrete matters with them.

Forthcoming Meetings

As we go to press meetings are scheduled for Springfield, Ill., where comrade Joe Angelo is making preparations for a big turnout ;at Cleveland and Youngstown, Ohio and at Pittsburgh. Pa. The local comrades, Jos. Keller, L Bryar, Denis Plarinos James Sifakis and others are working hard for successful meets which will be reported on in the next issue of the Militnat. It was decided after consultation between the local comrades and the national office to postpone return engagements of comrade Shachtman to Toronto and Montreal, Canada, till cooler weather. The remainder of the schedule follows

Watch This Schedule for Your City

SPPRINGFIELD, ILL.
Tuesday, June 24. (Place to be announced.)

CLEVELAND, OHIO
Wednesday June 25, Mass Meeting at PAINTERS HALL 2030 Euclid.

Thursday, June 26 Membership Meeting.

YOUNGSTOWN ,OHIO
Friday, June 27.

PITTSBURG, PA.
Saturday, June 28, 8. p. m. Mass Meeting at Labor Lyceum, 35 Miller St.

PITTSBURG, PA.
Sunday, June 29, Branch Meeting

MONTREAL, CANADA
July 3-4th (Place to be announced later.)

TORONTO, CANADA
July 5-6 (Place to be announced later.)

In India

Simon Report Declares War on Revolution

The second volume of the Simon Report is now available for analysis and it bears out the most cynical expectation of the supporters of the Indian revolution. It is nothing more or less than a direct declaration of war to the bitter end for the throttling of the Indian revolution. It does not even contain the recommendation of "Home Rule". Divide and Rule! India is to be still further cut up by the separation of Burma so that the British can have a base of operations against the Indian revolutionary movement.

The other eight provinces will have "self-governing" institutions and will "send" representatives to a "Federal Assembly". Even to the capitalist press (the New York **Times,** June 24) anxious to sugar coat it the purport of the Report "is to give Britain a stronger hold on India than ever...The British Governors in the provinces will be virtual autocrats with sweeping powers to override the Indian Ministers ...the governors can call the British troops in any emergency...and the British army will continue for many years under the control... of the Imperial Government."

The Simon Commission is composed of labor, liberal and conservative representatives of the groups in the British House. The Simon Commission functioned under the direct responsibility of Ramsay MacDonald's Labor Government. Whatever a few more radical rank and filers in the American socialist party may think, the report of the Simon Commision is the type of "self-determination" granted to the oppressed nationalities by the Governments and parties of the Second International.

What will the Simon Commission's report actually solve? What does it change? The driving forces of the Indian revolution have not been wiped out by its flood of words. The Commission says "as you were." British Imperialism and its bayonets, its exploitation of the Indian workers will remain. We will not release India by any constitutional surrender, says the Commission All your "nationalist movement' 'your "civil disobedience", "your salt tax violations" mean little to us. We understand one language—that is the language of power—the language of war and revolution

The Indian revolution enters on a stage that is clearly defined. The vacillations, the mysticism, the pacifism with which Gandhi has weakened and betrayed the revolutionary ferment in the past can no longer so successfully confuse the issues. The issue is more sharply defined. It is surrender to Brtish Imperialism—which acceptance of the Commission's report means —or revolutionary mass action of the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the industrial proletariat.

The opportunities for a Communist Party and a revolutionary policy in India today are inspiring. Will, can the present Comintern regime utilize the situation for the international revolution?

In the next issue of the Militant there will appear a thorough analysis of the whole situation in which the Indian revolution now finds itself. —M.S.

* * *

ATTENTION, CHICAGO! PICNIC

Sun. June 29, 1930 at the Forest Preserve
Meet at the end of Milwaukee Ave. Car line between 10 and 11 a. m.. For those delayed signs will direct the way. Bring lunch baskets . Cold drinks will be there.
Auspices Communist League of America (Opposition) Chicago Branch

Φ

Who says that Business hasn't a heart? The National Bureau of Economic Research triumphantly reports that Corporation charity has increased six times since 1920 and the "number of business concerns that have made appropriations for public health and happiness has increased thirteeen times." (**New York Evening Post, June 23**). These kindly capitalist will do anything in the wide world for the workers—but get off their backs.

THE MILITANT, Vol. III, No. 25, June 28, 1930. Published weekly by the Com-munist League of America (Opposition) at25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. Subscription rate: $2.00 per year; foreign $2.50. Five cent per copy. Bundle rates 3 cents per copy. Editorial Board: Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck. Entered as se-cond class mail matter, November 28 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879 (Total No. 50)

Operators Prey Upon Passivity of the Coal Miners

By ARNE SWABECK

Reverberations from the soft coal miners revolt against the ruinous rule of the John L. Lewis machine in the United Mine Workers have come back as a resounding echo from the anthracite. So far, however, it has been only as disorganized expression of universal rank and file discontent; given voice at the recent tri-disther gains from being made and facilitated position of "progressive" elements, but resulting in some serious defeats for Lewis. The practically complete absence of an organized conscious Left wing prevented further pains frof being made and facilitated the obscuring of some of the most burning issues.

With deep-seated general discontent in the anthracitte the sentiment at the convention testifies eloquently to the pressure of the membership for a clean-cut fighting policy. No doubt, there is a rich field and a great need for Left wing direction has been frittered away through a series of senseless mistakes everywhere in the mine fields. This is a condition for which the official Communist Party leadership is mainly responsible and has resulted in the almost complete isolation of the Left wing.

Lewis suffered defeat first in his endeavors to avoid holding the convention and when it took place despite his desires as a result of insistent demands of the local unions. Lewis suffered a defeat 5 to 1 on his main proposition to authorize his handpicked scale committee to negotiate the "best possible contract". But the disorganized opposition, led by "progressives", did not succeed, or did not care, to get favorable action on the needs of wage increases, shorter workday, unemployment relief and a deterined ht against the contracting system.

New Union Grows Under "Friendly" Auspices of Operators

Meanwhile the move started by Illinois local miners unions to reinstate members previously expelled for opposition to the corrupt bureaucracy—both the John L.Lewis and the Howatt-Fishwick union are endeavoring to turn to their account. Both sides can well afford to use this method of catering to the Left wing in its present disorganized state with no intention displayed as yet to seriously contest with them for influence over the rank and file membership. The Howatt-Fishwick union, thanks to its objective position of an insurgent movement without as yet having had to face a test of struggle with the opperators, is able to claim considerable gains. For example, during the first two months of its existence, the new union claims 21 new locals organized in Oklohoma, Arkansas and Texas, three locals in Indiana, one in Iowa and ten in Ohio. The total membership, dues paying and exempt, for the period, it claims to be 51,618.

From its inception the new union has "enjoyed" the most friendly attitude from the Illinois operators headed by the large Peabody Co. It was decidedly evidenced in the Springfield court decision barring Lewis from interfering in Illinois fields. The **Black Diamond,** organ of the Illinois operators, gave favorable publicity to the Springfield convention, commenting on the selection of John H. Walker for secretary that: "During the years he has been associated with the labor movement of Illinois, Walker has gained the confidence of leaders in all branches of business and industry". This friendly attitude is already being translated into "harmonious collaboration" on the job in carrying out the notorious Fishwick costract to the advantage of the operators. The friendly attitude is surely to be appreciated by Fishwick, possibly also by Howatt, the coal miners, however, should have no difficulty in remembering that only the contracts had any value, which were gained by militant struggle and maintained by organized power in face of the histility of the bosses.

Undoubtedly the Howatt-Fishwick union has prospects of growth, at least for a time. The fact that it came about as a result of a revolt against the Lewis machine, a revolt which for the moment stirred many miners into action and now compels it to move on for organization; the fact that due to Howatt's past militant reputation it can generate some hopes by its apparently progressive front, coupled with the important fact that conditions in the unorganized fields in particular have forced the miners practically below the subsistence level, eager for organization, these will all count in its favor. But it will be the kind of temporary gains caused by workers grasping for a last straw in a desperate situation. It cannot count on lasting rank and file support or become a factor contributing to the organization of a real union embracing all the miners, without policies of militant struggle and without a leadership free from past corruptions and ready to stand solid as a rock for these policies. This, however, cannot be expected under the benevolent tutelage of the coal operators.

Will the Two Unions Unite?

What are the points of division between the two unions, both claiming the title of United Mine Workers? First and foremost one must judge by the rank and file membership. And there can be no denying the fact that the Howatt-Fishwick union is here as a result of the long standing deep-seated revolt against the Lewis rule of corruption, betrayal and destruction. Had the Left wing, under direction of the official Communist Party, not completely forfeited its mass leadership by a series of fatal blunders, this revolt, now temporarily retarded, could have been continued in its once adopted direction—definitely toward the Left. It could thus have become decisive for the course in the anthracite as well.

As far as the two union leaderships are concerned it has quite clearly been a contest for spoils coming with official positions from which their conflict grew and swung in one section, the Fishwick group, over to the side of endeavoring to take advantage of the mass revolt. Is there any point of division of policies in its decisive aspect, that is, in attitude towards the operators? The records of both the Lewis and Fishwick groups are already well known. They have been identically treasonable to the rank and file and there have been no statements or proclamations showing any departure from or any difference on this score. There have, however, been statements for unity of the two unions. A unity which could be accomplished only on the basis of division of spoils of position by both cliques and to the further loss of the rank and file. For the coal miners it can at least be certain that there would be no future union progress that way.

Where is Howatt Going?

It should always be borne in mind that the bulk of leadership of the new union is furnished by the Fishwick group which throughout its history has been part and parcel of all the crimes of the sell-out breaking down of working standards and union destruction carried on by the Lewis machine. The background of Howatt, and a few with him, is quite a different one. But judging by the present position there could be but scant hopes for the future to show a revival of their past. Their present route of travel is decisive and when concerning a union leader it becomes one for the rank and file to take serious note of.

The fight made by Howatt against the Kansas Industrial Court law is one of the few bright pages of American labor history. His fight during a number of years, up until his expulsion from the old union, against the Lewis corruption and betrayals added favorable weight to his record. His struggle for reinstatement into the union was a correct tactical position; but with that reinstatement the turn to the right began. He failed to renew his fight and to give any support whatever to the revolt which became particularly widespread during the period of defeat of the Pennsylvania-Ohio strike and found its expression in the "Save the Union Movement". He failed to support its further development in the organization of the National Miners Union. Regardless of the mistakes in development and weaknesses inherent in the N.M.U. from its inception, true progressives could not fail to support it. Howatt instead later chose to join with the corrupt Fishwick group.

At the convention forming the new union at Springfield Illinois, Howatt failed to fight against the seating of Farrington who so completely personified the agent of the coal operators in the union ranks. Honest delegates from the ranks had come there determined to fight and root out all vestiges of the Lewis wrecking machine, embodied as fully in the Fishwick group. They found in their former ally Howatt, now an opponent. Referring to them Howatt made the outrageous charge that, "a few delegates to the convention have been bought out by Lewis". The adoption of constitutional clauses barring Communists from membership and classifying them with the reactionary Civic Federation and Ku Klux Klan met no opposition from Howatt, instead he joined in red-bating. Yet the most decisive is the attitude towards the increased exploitation by the operators. And here the friendly "co-operation" can lead to no other career than the one so "successfully" pursued by Lewis.

Preying Upon Miners' Momentary Passivity

The squabble on the appeal against the injunction, now begun in the operator controlled court at Springfield, is expected to last until late in the fall. This has become one means of holding the general membership resentment against both the cliques in abeyance and retarding its development. But enormous bills, no matter whom the operators favor in this tilt, will be due for payment by this membership and perhaps help blow the lid off again.

Throughout the fields the coal miners are suffering under the crushing weight of unempolyment constantly increasing by the advancing machine loading and mechanical mining. The major soft coal fields in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virgina, Kentucky and other places are entirely without a union and with all gains of the past wiped out Many bitter disappointments have been experienced. A certain degree of exhaustion in addition to the general more important effects of the economic crisis has engendered in the miners a state of momentary passivity though isolated spontaneous strikes have taken place.

Fatal Blunders of the Left Wing Result in Isolation

Yet the problem in the mine field remains the building of a union which will embrace all coal miners and adopt the policy of militant struggle. What does the official Communist Party policy contribute to a solution of this problem? A big insurgent movement has just taken place growing out of discontent with the reactionary policies of the old officialdom. It was the first insurgency in the A. F. of L. for a long time taking place in a basic industry and important union with a generally favorable basis for the Left. Yet it did not lend strength to the Left wing at all. On the contrary, the main benefits went to social reformism. The N.M.U. is practically extinct. Its convention first scheduled for April first, then postponed to June 1, has now agains seemingly been postponed to June 28th—or will there be none? What becomes of responsibility to the working class and to the miners in particular who did follow the Left wing?

The meaningless hurling of extravagant phrases of fascism and "social fasism", coming from the top, can be no substitute for correct policies and only confuses the situation, to put it mildly. Down among the ranks the small scattered Left wing groups, still existing, become footbals for either of the two old cliques. A continuation of this inevitably brings further isolation by members of these groups becoming compelled, in order to get a job, to rejoin either of the two unions having control without any policy of carrying on Left wing and progressive activities within.

Two main reasons for this isolation are easily discernible. Progressive elements who in the past became allies of the Left wing movement and should have been properly utilized as bridges to the masses were instead, during the period of right opportunist policies of the Party elevated to leadership. Hence they are now still able to maintain a commanding position while travelling definitely toward the Right. Secindly, the failure of the N.M.U., not caused by unfavorable objective conditions but by repeated mistakes of policy during the Communist Party's present course of opportunist adventurism.

From the **Daily Worker** (6-13-1930), in an article commenting upon the anthracite convention we notice somewhat of a turn at least toward a half recognition of the necessity of the Left wing working within the existing unions. This, partial though it is, is to be welcomed. But how can such turns become effective and clear to the workers without an explanation of the mistakes of the opposite direction, as for example, calling upon the progressive miners to stay away from the Springfield convention of revolt against Lewis. Precisely at that place was where all Left wing and progressives should have been to continue the fight against the reactionaries of all shades.

Left Wing Must Return to Fundamental Task

The problem of building a new union, we repeat still remains. And while a certain amount of passivity amongst the miners is prevalent, while they have been put on the defensive, opportunities are available. Perhaps nowhere better than in the unorganized fields for extension of organzation and Left wing ideology, for building a union with militant policies. The additional fact that masses were set into motion through the recent revolt, as well as the course this motion has followed, must be properly evaluated. If it proves anything, above all it proves the necessity of the Left wing again adopting its fundamental task, that is, as the means of building one union, take up the indispensible work of organizing and extending its influence for a fighting program within the existing unions. In such fields as Illinois, Kansas and the anthracite there should be no doubt that the proper course is to organize the Left wing within the two unions having control to build the united front from below for the demands of the Left which correspond to the needs of the miners and thus to compel a united struggle with the N.M.U. where it functions.

To this end reinstatement of formerly expelled union opposition members must be taken up as a definite policy. A policy which guarantees the continuation and organization of the fight.

The field is ripe for such tactics. The rank and file will soon learn through experience to correctly estimate the position of the "progressives" now progressing toward the Right and one of the big tasks of the Left wing is to build and broaden the union with the masses, take advantage of the conflicts between the reactionary and oportunist leaders in a manner more effectively to expose them and win the influence of the masses for its program.

«Revolutionary Age» Barred from Mails

The denial of the mails by tthe Federal Government to the **Revolutionary Age,** organ of the Right wing (Lovestone-Gitlow) group in the Communist movement on the ground of "seditious" and "indecent" contents is an act which the entire working class movement must protest. At the same time they must emphatically demand the restoration of second class mailing privileges for the **Revolutionary Age.**

This high-handed act of the Post Office Department is a revival of the ugly Burleson-Wilson war days, and, if allowed to stand, is a lever to smash the press and organizations of the workers at the inclination of the government. Not for years has such an attempt been made. The U.S. Government has devised a pretext for the suppression of this organ. It can find like excuses for action against the **Militant, Daily Worker** and other of the working class and revolutionary press.

The workers under capitalism have every reason and need to fight to maintain and extend so-called civil rights—free press, free speech and assemblage the right for the workers to organize, etc. These are fundamental needs of agitation, propaganda and organization and can only be maintained through constant vigilance and struggle by the workers against the employers and capitalist government. A blow against one is a blow against all. It is in this light that the government's attack on the **Revolutionary Age** must be understood.

The Communist movement in the United States is unfortunately at the present time engaged in such a deep-going internal struggle that the Government conceives it can attack it with greater impunity. The three currents in the Communist Party are each represented by a separate organ. Up to now the **Daily Worker,** the organ of the Centrist Stalin faction which speaks officialy for the Party, has maintained the silence of the deep on the victimization of the **Revolutionary Age.** To adopt an attitude of such unscrupulous factionalism (incidentally characteristic of the **Daily Worker** for a considerable time) is anything but revolutionary. It is unprincipled. Every worker must protest against the attack on the press of the workers, whatever faction in the Party they belong to.

A SQUEAK IN THE APPARATUS (A POPULAR EXPLANATION OF RIGHTS AND LEFTS)

By L. D. TROTSKY

(This is the concluding instalment of comrade Trotsky's popular exposition of the differences between Lefts and Rights in the questions of Soviet economy and the associated international problems. The Right wing "theoretician" of the Revolutionary Age surpassing himself in profundity lately attempted to prove that "Trotskyism" has made a "right" turn in denial of its past! It is nothing new for the Right revisionists to set up a straw man and proceed to knock him down—amid their own applause.

The dshonesty of the Right wing group in matters of Marxist theory is in complete accord with the unscrupulous falsification of Trotsky's position on the "rationing" of Europe which Lovestone peddled in the Komintern some years ago and from which he never disassociated himself even after he had been convicted by Trotsky of a literary forgery.—Editors.)

* * *

From the Left or From the Right

As was not difficult to foresee, Yaroslavsky now "testifies" that the Left Opposition has gone to the Right. When we came out against the 4 per cent rate of industrial development and for 20 per cent—we were "ultra-Lefts". When we give warning not to leap over to 30 per cent deteriorating the quality of production and overstraining the working force, we are "rights".

When as against the Thermidorian policy of reliance on the mighty middle peasant we demanded the policy of collectivization—that was denounced as "ultra-Leftism." When in the form of anti-religious propaganda, we come out against the myth of the faultless beginning of socialism, we are..."rights".

Ever since Molotov's feet became the measure of all things questions are decided with great simplicity.

All the Mensheviks, cackles Yaroslavsky, came out against the present tempos of industrialization and collectivization. It is therefore clear that the Opposition shares the Menshevist point of view. Yaroslavsky is out to scare somebody. Is it us? No, he is aiming to intimidate his own people—because he hears a squeak in the apparatus.

Menshevism is for the return of the U.S.S.R. to capitalism which must for Menshevist satisfaction be crowned by a bourgeois democracy. By the way, the Mensheviks supported the Stalinist industrialization program of yesterday against the Opposition platform, seeing in the former the elements of economic "realism" and declaring the latter "romantic" This is the historic fact. It is self-evident that the Mensheviks are now too, for a lowering of the tempos of industrialization. Does this mean that from the Marxian viewpoint the tempos of industrialization have no limits in general?

It is remarkable that in the same article, Yaroslavsky refers with great satisfaction to the old socialist revolutionary, Minor, who spoke sympathetically of the collectivization in the U.S.S.R. at a certain Paris meeting. From the personal standpoint Minor's declaration undoubtedly does him honor, because it shows that he has a socialist conscience, that he is trying to understand what is actually happening, without the malicious pre-conceptions of an offended petty bourgeois. But from political viewpoint, it must not be forgotten for a moment that Minor is one of the oldest Populists (Narodniki) who by his whole past is the most insulated against Marxian ideas. How many spears did the Marxists not break in their struggle against the populist utopians in regard to the construction of a socialism based on the peasant's primitive plow and commune? Agrarian socialism bore an adventurist stamp with the Left wing "social revolutionaries" and a bureaucratic character with their Right. In the Stalinist policy the elements of adventurism and bureaucratism unite. It is no wonder that Minor found in the new Stalinism some of the elements of his own old past.

One of the possible definitions of Bolshevism is that it gave in practise the most remarkable synthesis of reform and revolution. At first the social democracy was for reform against the revolution; now it is even against reform out of fear of revolution. Social democracy is always against revolution. Does this mean that every denial of a revolutionary situation in a given moment is Menshevism?

The Mensheviks were opposed to the October revolution, together with Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Miliyutio and others. The Mensheviks were opposed to the revolutionary offensive in Germany in 1923 (together with Stalin). The Mensheviks were opposed to a break with the Kuomintang and the building of Soviets in China in 1925-27 openly supporting Stalin against our views. Our demand to declare war on the General Council of the Trade Unions in the British coal struggle of 1926, the Mensheviks together with Stalin considered an "adventure".

On the other hand the Mensheviks were against the insurrection in Esthonia in 1924, against the terrorist adventure in Bulgaria, against the Canton uprising in 1927. Does this mean that we must support adventurist uprisings or organize them?

In our work on the "Third Period" we demonstrated by means of facts and figures the criminal light-mindedness of Molotov and company in declaring France to be on the threshold of revolution. The reformists and capitalists may attempt to grasp at our figures for consolation. Does this mean that we should ignore facts and figures? That we should blow out the lantern? Roam about in the dark?

From this brief and incomplete review we see that at all critical moments for the past thirteen years, the Mensheviks together with the epigones denied the revolutionary situation whenever it was at hand. In all these instances they were opposed to us. On the other hand their judgement episodically and purely formally, happened to "coincide" with ours, when the Mensheviks condemned an insurrection as such, while we denied the presence of conditions for a successful insurrection. The same is now happening in the question of the tempo of industrialization and collectivization.

Tail-Endism (Chvostism) or Adventurism

Some comrades are disturbed by our accusation of the present Stalinist course as **ultra-Left adventurism.** One of our friends proves that the "complete collectivization" has on the part of the leadership not an adventurist but a purely "tail-endist" character. There is on iontradiction here. "Tail-endism" always and unavoidably results in utlra-Left adventurism, either as its supplement, or else directly. The regeneration of Bolshevism means the unavoidable chemical disassociation of the elements of opportunism and bare "revolutionism".

It must not be forgotten that adventurism can be of two sorts. One expresses the revolutionary impatience of the vangaurad and resultts in running ahead too preciptiously, the second expresses the political desperation of the lagging rearguard. In the April and July demonstrations of 1917, some of the Bolsheviks undoubtedly brought in the element of adventurism. The same kind of tendencies, but expressing itself more sharply and having far worse consequences can be perceived in the insurrection of the Spartacists in 1919, whn they attempted to jump over the Constituent Assembly. On the other hand, the tactic of the German leadership in the March days of 1921 was an attempt to stage an insurrection on a declining wave. The tactic of the ultra-Left leadership in Germany in 1924 was an adventurist supplement of the tail-endism of 1923. The Canton uprising of 1927 was an adventurist transformation of the opportunism of 1925-27 and together with that a classic example of the desperation of the rearguard.

The movement of the peasants into the collectives, called forth by a combination of economic and administrative reasons acquired a mass character. The policy of the bureaucracy was at bottom an example of tail-endism. But the bureaucracy not only proclaimed this policy as its greatest victory—to speed is to speed! exclaimed the parrot, when the cat pulled it by the tail—but also developed a mad pressure on the peasantry under the flag of the liquidation of classes. Tail-endism was transformed directly into adventurism.

Can this adventurism be called ultra-Leftism and can it be said that we, the Opposition, attack it from the Right? Strategically, this would, of course, be senseless because the tactical zig-zag of Stalin undermines the revolutionary class strategy. But tactically nevertheless, we have this time on the part of the Stalinists not a Right but an ultra-Left zig-zag—it cannot be called otherwise.

At the Third Congress of the Comintern while working out the tactics and strategy, we rejected the ultra-Left adventurism of Zinoviev Bela Kun, Maslow and others. Lenin did not at all fear to say that he criticises them this time from the **Right.** Some of our friends were confused by this. The fetishism of words is an unpleasant illness.

The Right course as a strategical line is the reliance on the capitalist farmer in the village—capitalism in instalments. In the first years Stalin travelled far on this road. At present Stalin is moving in directly the opposite direction. The program of the administrative liquidation of the Kulak is an ultra-Left caricature of a revolutionary course. **Tactically** we stand at the moment to the Right of the zig-zag course. **Strategically,** we continue to stand on the basic revolutionary line.

On July 14, 1929, when the official turn to the Left began to make itself felt, I wrote to Ch. Rakovsky and to other exiles as follows: "After the tail-enders missed the revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923, a very deep ultra-Left zig-zag followed in 1924-25. This ultra-Left zig-zag developed into Right channels; the struggle with the industrialists, the coquettings with LaFollete and Raditch, the Peasant International, Kuomingtang, etc. When ultra-Leftism smashed its head on the Right path, a Right course developed. It is therefore not inconceivable that we have here an extended reproduction of the same thing in a new stage, that is, ultra-Leftism supporting itself on opportunistic premises. The accompanying economic forces may however, break down this ultra-Leftism at the very beginning and immediately give the whole course a decisive turn to the Right."

As the principal activity of Yaroslavsky is the stealing of Oppositionist correspondence he can easily check up on this quotation. Neither Stalinist ultra-Leftism nor the newest turn to the Right was unexpected by us. As Marxists we should orientate ourselves not on the bureaucrats psychology but on the "accompanying economic forces"

Our Prognosis

Shall we call for a "retreat"? The above mentioned comrade exxpresses the idea that the slogan of "Back" does not suit us. Just the same, he says, Stalin will now continue to retreat. Is it worth our while to add our voices to the outcries of these drag-in-the-rear politicians? If this were a case of a bourgeois state such a criticism would be correct. We are not at all obliged to give advice even to the most democratic and social democatic bourgeoisie as to how to get out of their difficulties. On the contrary we must mercilessly exploit all its difficulties in order to rouse the working class against the capitalist state. The position of Urbahns in relation to the U.S.S.R is a caricature of Marxist policy in relation to a bourgeois state. But in spite of the one thousand and one lies of Yaroslavsky we considered and still consider the Soviet State a proletarian state. Even though Yaroslavsky "brings" words he ascribed to us from the **Bulletin** about the "unavoidable death of the October Revolution", this honorable eavesdropper lies. We never said that, we never wrote that, and never thought that, even though we do not in the least hide from ourselves nor from the Party the tremendous danger that the October Revolution is approaching as a result of the monstrous mistakes of the last period. The Opposition does not identify the Soviet State either with Yaroslavsky or with Stalin. It considers the Soviet State its own State and will defend it not only from its open class enemies but also from the internal damagers among whom Yaroslavsky occupies not the last place.

In the same article "About the Evolution of the Trotskyites" Yaroslavsky once more repeats that "L.D. Trotsky was convinced a year ago that our Party would be compelled to call him back for aid." In that sense Trotsky was supposed to have warned those who "accompanied him" (agents of the G.P.U. that in all probability he'd be called to save the situation within a few months." **Yaroslavsky lies!** This is not what I said. This is not how I spoke. Together with the whole Opposition I said, that the country is entering on a period of new difficulties on a higher historical basis; that the leadership does not see anything and does not foresee that these difficulties may bring about a sharp crisis after two years, after a year or even after several months. Then, I said, it will be revealed that the government apparatus as well as the Party is over-run with bureaucrats, careerists, political betrayers, etc. But the Opposition will devotedly fight together with the revolutionary core of the Party. You will be ashamed, I said, to those "accompanying" if you will have to call back for aid in that difficult moment the Oppositionists directly from the prisons and exile. This prognosis remains in force even today. What is truer, is that now it takes on a more real and acute character.

Flattering the Peasantry

The crude and senseless economic plucking of the peasantry is supplemented by Yaroslavsky with indecent political attery. In regards to my words that the peasantry, finding itself before the closed gates of the market "flings" itself in the direction of collectivization, Yaroslavsky writes, "Trotsky, still retaining his past views on the peasantry as an enemy force, cannot magine the peasantry as any different than cattle which 'fling' themselves into the open gates in the direction of collectivization." I did not compare the peasantry with cattle. For such comparisons the lackey psychology of Yaroslavsky is needed. At no time did I consider the peasantry an enemy force, neither did I consider it a conscious socialist force. The peasantry is contradictory. Within it the dependence on the elementary forces of nature are still terribly strong even today, with its terribly split-up and helpless economy. Marx and Engels wrote in their time about the "idiocy of rural life". The Populists uttered not a few sorry words on this theme, and deduced from the Communist Manifesto the supposed enmity of the Marxists towards the peasantry. In what way does Yaroslavsky differ from them? In as much as the peasant is a realist towards the questions surrounding him, just in so far does he become a victim of blind instinct on bigger questions. The whole history of the peasantry is such that after decades and centures of heavy immobility, it plunges either in one or another direction. The peasant-soldiers crushed the Revolution of 1905. The peasantry elected in 1917 Social Revolutionaries to the Constituent Assembly but helped the Bolsheviks to throw off the "Social Revolutionaries" How many times did it fling itself from one direction to another during the civil war before it firmly bound its fate to that of the Soviet power To liberate the peasant from the elementary forces pressing down on his consciousness, he must be "de-peasantized". This is the task of socialism. But this is decided not by a formalist collectivization, but by a revolution in agricultural technique. The advanced peasant will sooner or later understand that the Oppositionist is far more farsighted in the question of peasant economy than the ruling bureaucrats.

Evidently, fate wanted to enjoy a particularly hearty laugh at the expense of Yaroslavsky. In the same number of the **Pravda** (March 30th) where this malicious and wretched article is printed there is a report of Bullatt's speech at the Plenum of the Moscow district conference. Bullat says, that in one of the sections "the Right moods within the Party organization were very strong. The district committee removed several leading functionaries. And then the whole organization flung itself to the 'Left' to the extent of **a complete turn."** This is what was literally said. This speech is not about a peasant mass but about a party organization which is supposed to personify the consciousness of the working class. And the official leader tells us how after removing several "Rights" the organization was "flung" towards ultra-Leftism. This is far more becoming of "cattle", to make use of the lackey vocabulary of Yaroslavsky.

Nevertheless, the picture drawn by Bullat symbolizes the whole fate of the Party for the past two years. After the

(Continued on Page 7)

Bureaucrats Rule C.P. Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

instinctively loyal but bewildered rank and file, who the continual shifting of leaderships and chaotic "new turns" has plunged into apathy.

The dues paying membership has sunk to a "new low"—6,617 in January 1930. The Party influence in the old unions has been annihilated The new unions under this suicidal leadership and zig-zag course have been reduced to mere shadows of their former selves. The National Textile Workers Union has been reduced to a membership of 2,000. The Amalgamated Food Workers has been split with a small minority of 500 workers pulled out by the Stalinists to form a dual union. The National Miners Union has shrunk to a few hundred members while the **Daily Worker** carries screaming columns of bluff about its "strikes against Unemployment" The Needle Trades Industrial Union is down to a few thousand members. A call has been issued by the Stalinists which will split off the few badly organized Left wingers from the main body of the workers in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

While the capitalist class is intensifying its drive on the Communists as the spearhead of the militant working class, the present Browder-Bedacht sub-agency of the Stalin regime has utterly failed to organize a mass movement against the Gastonia sentences, against the victimization of the leaders of the New York Unemployed demonstration and elsewhere.

The demonstration on March 6th showed the potential opportunity for developing a great unemployed movement around concrete demands—but the incompetent Centrist leadership could not have ruined these opportunities more successfully if they had deliberately set out to do so. After the March 6th demonstration —April, May, June have passed without any organization, without any planned attempt to give form to the movement, without any popularization of a concrete program. The truth can hardly be covered up that there is no organization of the workers, no linking up with the employed—no councils except those being hastily improvised for the Chicago Convention. And the Chicago Convention looms up as another glorified mass meeting to give the **Daily Worker** its material for columns of yellow sensationalism.

But the American Party situation is no exception to the situation in the rest of the Comintern. As we have demonstrated repeatedly the roots of the Party crisis are international. We will continue energetically to prepare fresh cadres in the Party who will take up the struggle of the Left Opposition for the revolutionary principles of Marx and Lenin

THE NEW UNIONS AND THE UNITED FRONT

In the work of forming new unions of the unorganized workers, no less than its work in the A. F. of L., the Party must revive and apply the united front tactic. Maintaining always its independence and freedom of criticism, the Party must form alliance with groups and organizations willing to co-operate with us on a minimum class struggle program and win the non-Party militants over to the course of joint struggle. An approach to revolutionary syndicalist workers in the spirit of Lenin is especially necessary.

The Party must strive to establish its decisive influence and leadership in these united front struggles by its initiative, superior tactics and conscientious persevering work. These methods must replace the growing tendency towards exclusiveness and mechanical, monopolistic Party control which only result in the narrowing down of the base of the new movements and organizations, in their degeneration into impotent cliques, in their isolation and defeat. Under the present conditions and relation of forces, the Party cannot put forth the demand for arbitrary and mechanical control without endangering the developing movements and blocking its own approach to the awakening non-Party masses. The leadership of the Communists, which is alone able to steer the new movements on a correct course, must be won in struggle.

— FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20 1929

In Germany

Fascist Gains in Saxony

The results of the Saxony elections make ominous reading to the German and international working class.

It is generally known that the result of the Thuringian elections some tme ago gave the Fascists ("national socialists") the direct and legal control of the police power. They became the governing party and have launched on the open suppression of the workers' press and organizations. The tabulation of the returns from the election to the Saxon diet (it used to be Red Saxony!) now shows that the Fascists ("National Socialists") have **tripled their strength and advanced form the position of seventh among thirteen parties to the second strongest party in the state.** They polled 376 724 votes and acquired 14 seats as against five in the old legislature. The social democrats, it is reported, held their own, and the Communists won two seats. The socialists now have thirty-two, the fascist fourteen and the Communists thirteen seats.

These terrible results for the working class in a province that once had the strongest proletarian movement in Germany are the consequences of social democratic betrayal, developing deep disappointment among the masses. But instead of the revolutionary Communists being the gainers, it is chiefly the fascists. The Communist Party is hamstrung by its adventurist leadership, its false centrist theories, its third period policies. The Stalin regime, with its Molotovs and Manuilskys is, continually pounding the tom-tom of radicalization. The German situation really is the most fertile soil for the radicalization of the workers. The German capitalists have publicly announced their intentions for a universal wage cut, the Young Plan has been set into operation, the economic crisis will be sharpened by the situation in the United States.

But the disastrous course of the Stalinists must be held jointly accountable with social democratic betrayal for this failure to give leadership to the revolution and to bring the processes of mass radicalization to the surface in the form of political and industrial action.

Φ

On Friday June 20th some 400 workers employed by the Long Island Railroad were discharged. These fresh recruits to the army of the unemployed were mainly engaged in the maintainence of way department and the passenger and freight services. In addition 100 temporary employees taken on three months ago were dismissed. The corporation did not of course consult the workers before firing them out on the slave market.

The learned professor Carver of Harvard should try consoling these workers by proving that now they will live off the stocks, shers and dividends they own as capitalists. Suppose they start in business for themselves?

Switchmens' Union Convention

The Switchmen's Union of America concluded on June 18th a ten day convention at Buffalo, N. Y. Two hundred and forty-one delegates attended. During this long period the convention failed to deal adequately with the major and immediate needs confronting the Union. The greater part of the delegates was made up of those having seniority rights. Thus they failed to comprehend directly the acute issue of unemployment taking its toll among the railroad workers in the United States and Canada by the tens of thousands through layoffs, speed-up and rationalization.

The convention as a whole carried through a reactionary program, only relieved here and there by an occasionally progressive act of resistance to the reactionary proposals of the organization officialdom.

After Secretary of Labor Davis of the Hoover Administration had recited his piece of cant, the officers reports began. These reports were hopelessly inadequate and did not deal in any sense with the Switchmen's and railroaders' needs generally. They consisted of details on this and that point, but contained no proper review of the organization's gains and losses, its perspective for the union, the question of the unorganized ,the unemployed, etc. The officers' reports had, as one rank and file delegate expressed it, no more information than a time-table. Of course, the officers showed why they needed an increase in salaries.

Nevertheless, a rank and file delegate took the floor and wanted to know where the union was heading? What were the aims of the organization? How were they going to meet the attacks of the railroad barons, the smashing of the unions, etc. A three hour discussion followed, in which sharp criticism was made of the poor and flabby reports of the officials. But nothing happened as a result and the convention returned to its routine work.

Red-Baiter Resolution Defeated

Later the Resolutions Committee brought in a resolution calling for the expulsion from the Union of all Communists, Amalgamationists ,revolutionists, Reds, etc. in line with the ideas and practices of the Groens, Wolls and Cashens. This resolution aiming to eliminate all opposition and all remaining militants from the Union, was attacked by a delegate from the floor. He pointed out that the passage of this resolution meant playing the game of the bosses and of the bureaucratic officials, and was the way to break, not build, the union. He described the role of the "Reds", etc. as that type of union militancy which made fighting organizations of the workers against the employers. His speech aroused the delegates and the resolution was overwhelmingly defeated.

To everyone's surprise the reactionary officials tried to introduce the same resolution again in different cloth[illegible]. But other delegates arose and denounced the resolution and it was once more defeated.

The program adopted was a lifeless, hopeless one, so far as the needs of the rank and file is concerned, with the bare exceptions indicated.

The Convention adopted a resolution addressed to the railroad workers of all crafts and industries to cooperate in a movement to establish the six hour day and five day week.

Resolution for Railroad Councils

The most important action of the Convention, if properly understood and measures are taken to carry it through, was a resolution for the establishment of Railroad Councils of all railroad workers in all railway centres. This is similar in plan and scope to the Railroad Council initiated in April by a delegated body of railroad men in Minneapolis and St. Paul. This Twin City Council, among other things, also called for a national campaign among railroad workers for the six hour day and five day week. The Railway Councils have potentialities for rank and file control by the railroad workers and for the rebuilding of the railroad organizations on a militant basis.

Railroad workers everywhere should strive for the establishment of Railway Councils similar to that begun by the Twin City Railroad men.

Another resolution adopted by the Switchmen's Convention provided for the attempt to set up machinery to consolidate the Insurance features of the various Railroad Unions into one; and also to investigate ways and means to wipe out jurisdictional disputes. What the officialdom has in mind are those jurisdicational disputes which hinder their bureaucratic hold in their field. The rank and file have to agitate for actually removing causes for jurisdictional disputes through the amalgamation of the railroad unions, as a first step toward the reorganization of the railroad workers on an industrial union basis.

The officials not satisfied with their present huge salaries, even while unemployment is heavy, sought a further increase in salaries. To the bitter disappointment of the officers the Convention voted this down.

—RANK AND FILE DELEGATE

GENERAL STRIKE IN SPAIN

Ever since the fall of the Spanish dictator Rivera, the atmosphere in Spain has bee charged. The general strike declared in Seville against police brutality towards strikers in a wage dispute in an olive factory, indicates how great the tension is. Police and guards brutally fired, killing and wounding men, women and children indiscriminately. One hundred and fifty people were injured as the police attacked with sabres and rifles.

Fourteen strike and trade union leaders and fifty "agitators" are under arrest. Workers are assembling in throngs in various parts of Seville. The city is virtually under martial law.

Alfonso's henchman General Berenguer issued the usual official "Orde, has been restored in Warsaw" statement. "It appears that the trouble is past" he decleared after a cabinet meeting.

The General is mistaken. The Seville strike is symptomatic of the development of a mass movement that will compel Alfonso and his corrupt regime to think seriously of suitable European refuges for aristocratic emigres.

Where To Buy The Militant

LOS ANGELES, Calif.: Western News Box 604, Arcade Station.
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. McDonald's 65 Sixth St.
WASHINGTON, D. C. Gale's ok Shop 305 Tenth St. N. W.
PITTSBURG, Pa.: P & A News Co., 226 Federal St., N. S.
CHICAGO, ILL., Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1633 W. Division St.; Walden Bookstore 311 Plymouth Ct.; Britscke's Store, 1611 N. Kedzie and on various newstands
SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. Wesley St.
BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St. near Washington,: Andelman's 284 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.
ROXBURY, MASS., Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.
REVERE, MASS., Trachtman's Store 87 Sherley Ave.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.
KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buchler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. cor.; Warwicks News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. cor.; 5th and Market, S. W.cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. cor.; 9th and Locust Sts., N. E .cor.; 40th & Girard Ave., S. E. cor.
NEWARK, N. J.: Alter's Stand; 58 Prince St
CAMDEN. N. J., 326 Market St.
SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.
TACOMA, Wash.; Walsh, 1,203 Pacific St.
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.
NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand ookstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.
CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West

In addition to the stores listed above, The Militant also can be ained t' ugh members and branches of the Communist League of America.

Φ

BUFFALO, N. Y., June 14th—There are 23,499 unemployed men and women in this city according to a preliminary report by the Federal Census Bureau.

This does not include those who are ill, sugering from injuries or temporarily unemployed, but only those "usually working at gainful occupations"

If the number on your wrapper is

50

then your subscription to the **Militant** has expired. Renew immediately in order to avoid missing any issues.

Aftermath of Needle Trades Convention

2. Character of the Right Wing Unions

By James P. Cannon

One of the chief errors of the convention of the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union—an error, like all the others, forced upon it by the Party leadership—was to regard the split in the furriers and ladies garment workers unions, and the formation of the new industrial union, as the final settlement of accounts with the reactionary leaders within the old organizations throughout the industry, including those unions which were not affected by the split. This estimation of the situation is profoundly false. The issue is not yet settled even with the unions in which the split occurred and will not be settled as long as these Right wing organizations control the majority of the organized workess in these trades. And in the field of the other unions, where there has been no split and where the new union has created no base in the shops, such an assumption is a sheer absurdity. A policy founded on this false assumption collides with facts which cannot be wished away.

The split and the formation of the new union in a section of the industry must rather be regarded as a stage in a long-drawn-out and complicated struggle. The first necessary stage was the formation of the Left wing in the old unions and its consolidation in batttle. Without that the present existence of the new union would have been impossible. The Left wing is still confronted with this preliminary task in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and in the Cap and Millinery Workers Union. It has yet to complete it in the I.L.G.W.U. and the Furriers Union. It also has the problem of uniting this activity in a comprehensive strategy with the task of strengthening the new Left union and organizing the unorganized. The goal of the Left wing is to unite the masses of needle trades workers into a single organization of the class struggle.

The goal is still some distance away, as the membership figures demonstrate with merciless logic. Under what conditions can the Left wing move in the direction of this goal. Only by demonstrating in practice that it is able to improve the material conditions of the workers in the shops. The most revolutionary program will not be accepted as a substitute for this. The workers want results in terms of bread and butter. If the Left wing union fails in this it fails in everything The new union has the will to do this, but it is blocked by the Right unions which have the help of the bosses and the police—and, besides, have the great bulk of the organized workers in their ranks. The existtence of these Right wing unions under the control of the reactionaries and traitors is not only a barrier to the new union in the organized shops; it is also a powerful force for the sabotage and disruption of any serious organizing campaign of the new union among the unorganized. The Left wing must cope with this problem. That is the key to its future development.

Attitude to Right Wing Unions

The question of the attitude of the revolutionaries toward the Right wing unions needs clarification. The convention of the new union under the guidance of the Party leadership, put the question on the simple basis of "either—or"; that is, FOR the new Left wing union and AGAINST the old Right wing unions throughout the entire industry. The convention program states: "The I.L.G.W.U., the A.C.W., the I.F.W.U, and the other so-called Right wing organizations are company unions in the real sense of the word...The company unions cannot be reformed, they must be destroyed." It follows with the decision: 'To abandon the maintainence of the T.U.U.L. groups within the company unions." And to "call upon every needle trade worker, regardless of craft or occupation, to join the new union."

This is a false approach to the problem as well as a false estimation of the old unions. What is needed is a two-sided policy of strengthening the new union and simultaneously working within the old unions, with a single objective: to unite the workers on a broader basis under the Leftt wing banner. Simple solutions "either—or"—will not work out. To liquidate the new unions would mean to deprive the workers of the concentrated gains of their long struggle and paralyze their fighting power for a long time. To fail at the same time to build a strong Left wing in the old unions would rob the new union of any possibilities of broad expansion and condemn it to sectarian impotence.

The Stalinist master-minds who can see only along a straight line, and that only as far as the end of their noses, will have none of this "complicated" strategy. And lacking reasons to justify their narrow and sectarian policy, they invent them. One of these inventions is the theory that the Right wing unions are company unions. Even if this were so it would not free the revolutionaries from the necessity of working within them as long as they embrace masses of workers. Foster explained this some years ago in his writings on company unions. and as Lenin explained before him in his account of the work of the bolsheviks in the **Czarist police-controlled unions** in "Left Wing Communism". But, alas, we live in the "third period", and the onetime wisdom of Foster, to say nothing of the wisdom of Lenin is a forgotten song of long ago. Stalinist education requires that we forget today everything we learned yesterday.

The Company Union Argument

The "company union" argument is a theoretical fraud invented to motivate a false policy. There is no doubt, however that many of the Left wing workers are deluded by this schematic explanation of the matter; and this delusion stands in the way of a clear comprehension of the problems and tasks of the Left wing. This circumstance justifies and necessitates a discussion of the formula which is designed to save thought and avoid a complicated struggle.

The history of the American and International labor movement shows two types of trade unions; those based on the idea of the partnership of labor and capital—"Class collaboration" unions—and those based on the class struggle. Even between these two main types the line of demarcation is not always clear. They frequently overlap each other. More than one 'revolutionary" union has proved to be conservative, even reactionary, in practice and many a militant strike has been conducted by unions officially committed to a policy of class collaboration. These contradictions between practice and program arise from the fact that the trade unions are not static bodies. They have their existence in the class struggle and are constantly under its pressure and influence.

The trade unions, which are the basic and elementary organizations of the workers, reflect in a general way the stage of class development of the workers in their ranks.

The corrupt and reactionary bureaucracy exerts a certain influence, of course, in holding back the development of the union on the path of the class struggle; just as the Communists, at the other pole, are a force for its acceleration. Between these two factors of conscious pressure for opposing ends the general level of class consciousness in the masses asserts itself and determines the character of the unions in practice regardless of their predetermined program. A revolutionization of the labor movement presupposes a revolutionization of the masses and has no serious meaning without it. On the other hand, with a real development of working class radicalization, all the machinations of the bureaucrats cannot prevent the trade unions from reflecting and expressing it.

The fact that this organization expression may ,and most frequently will, be realized through deep splits in the old unions and the formation of new ones—a process that has **begun** in the needle trades—does not alter the fundamental proposition. The very existence of the new needle trades industrial union **which was first crystallized as a Left wing in the old unions,** is positive proof that these unions are susceptible to the pressure of the class struggle and the agitation of the revolutonaries. It is proof that , despite the despicable fakers at their head, they are actual organizations of the workers, the natural and legitimate field for revolutionary activity.

Company unionism is a different question altogther. Company unions are organizations formed directly by the bosses and directly controlled by them. Their officers are the bosses **employees,** foremen, stool-pigeons etc. They have no independent life and no independent power to enforce decisions. They have no functions except those conferred on them by the bosses. History has never yet recorded a struggle of the workers conducted under the banner of a company union; although there have been a few instances where they served as the starting point for movements of revolt against the company unions, smashing through them and forming independent unions of the workers. No worker even the most ignorant ever mistook a company union for a real union.

Class-Collaboration Unions

Can the Right wing unions in the needle trades with all the corruption and treachery of their leaders properly be classified as company unions? Certainly not, if definitions mean anything. These are quite different organizatons and this fundamental difference is not abolished by the recent trend of the Right wing officials toward closer and more open partnership with the bosses. The Right wing organizations are **class-collaboration unions** in all the accepted meaning and implication of that term. It is quite true that the Right wing officials have introduced a new efficiency and a higher technique into the business of betraying the workers under the old theory of a partnership between labor and capital. But at bottom there is nothing new in principle. The Right wing unions in practice are more or less typical examples of the doctrine of class collaboration.

What is there about the practice of the Right wing unions that distinguishes them from the standard type of reactionary American trade unions, Is it the agreement with the bosses to compel the workers in the shop to register in the Right union. Almost every American trade union for years and even for decades has attempted to make such an agreement with the employers. Many of them are based on such contracts. The printing trades, building trades, and many other unions have such agreements. The most conspicuous illustration is the United Mine Workers. For more than twenty years this organization maintained control of the organized coal fields, and froze out such rivals as the I.W.W. and the One Big Union, through the check-off system—an arrangement whereby the mine operators collected the union dues by deducting them from the miners' wages. The program of the Left wing convention cites the check-off as one of the "characteristics of company unions". This is really laughable when it is recalled that **the check-off** was one of the **Left wisg demands** in the miners union up till a short while ago; the surrender of the check-off by Lewis in the anthracite strike in 1926 was bitterly attacked by the Communist Party.

Is it co-operation of their officials with the bosses and the police to fight the militant workers which makes the Right wing unions company unions? This again is the established and traditional practice of reactionaries in the labor movement; it is such practices, among others, that stamp them as reactionaries and agents of the bosses. Lenin speaks of this in "Left Wing Communism". The traitor leaders of the German trade unions were the saviours of capitalism and the butchers of the revolutionary workers. **After that** Lenin wrote his pamphlet advising the German Communists to go into these unions in order to wrest the workers out of the control of these betrayers.

Is it, perhaps, the enforcement of 'production standards" on the workers and the selling of the unions as agencies of efficiency that "transforms" them into company unions? This agin is nothing new. Such a policy is **inherent** in the very idea of class collaboration unionism. The slogan of traditional trade unionism, "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work", which Marx polemicized against, is the germ of all such policies. The latter-day agents of the capitalists in the labor movement have only extended and modernized the basic ideas and practices of the conservative unionism of the past.

While in all essential and fundamental features the Right wing unionis in the needle trades conform to the standard type of reactionary labor organization represented by the A. F. of L., there is no ground for confusing them with company unions. The basic difference consists in this: The company union is a lifeless organization **created by the bosses,** in which no outside force is consulted and **no agreement** is required. The reactionary labor union, on the other hand is based on an agreement of the bosses with an outside force, namely, the unions representted by the Right wing officialdom . This relationship imparts to the union certain features never seen in a company union. These are: a formal independent life of the union organization and an independent apparatus not employed in the shop: a constitution and formal democratic procedure—business meetings, conventions, etc., without direct interference of the bosses; an independent treasury for the self-maintenance of the union; the settlement of disputes by **agreement** with an implied reserve weapon of compulsion on the part of the union. These are the essential features of a labor organization, a potential instrument of the class struggle and a natural field for revolutionary work.

It is quite obvious that company unions and reactionary trade unions are entirely different kinds of organizations. And this difference is not disposed of by the assertion that the Right wing unions, through their corrupt officials, also serve the bosses. This is true enough, and it must never be forgotten, but they serve the bosses **in a different way** than do the officials of the company unions who are directly employed by the bosses and represent no independent power. This is what we have to understand before we can draw the correct inferences regarding revolutionary tactics. To characterize the old unions in the needle trades as company unions means to play with catch-words. Those who want to think straight—and revolutionaries above all others must do this—must beware of catch-words. What we need is precise definitions of our problems and tasks. Intelligent thought requires that words have a definite meaning, although this elementary truth has not yet occurred to the phrase-mongering leaders who try to answer complicated problems with careless epithets.

If we compare the old unions in the needle trades with the standard A.F. of L. unions and such conservative independent bodies as the railroad brotherhoods we see that they all have the same characteristic features. The differences and variations between them are incidental and peculiar to the particular situation surrounding them. The important thing to see—because it is an inescapable fact—is that they are of the same basic type. Consequently, a policy of withdrawal from the reactionary unions in the needle trades, of refusing to organize a Left wing within them—on the ground that they are company unions—is, in reality,a decision to give up the fight in all the reactionary unions. Make no mistake about it. That is what the newly-baked theory of "company unionism" means.

Such proposals have been made before. In 1920 and 1921 we fought the issue out in bitter conflicts in the Party. The rise of the Left wing in the needle trades and all its great historic accomplishments would have been impossible if we had not defeated the abstentionist policy at that time and steered the Communist militants into the mass organizations controlled by the reactionaries—the same Schlesingers and Hillmans. In the early days of the Comintern a historic struggle on this question took palce, the results of which were summed up at the Second World Congress of the Comintern and the First World Congress of the R.I.L.U. Thanks to the decisive leadership of Lenin and Trotsky the program of deserting the old mass unions, proposed by the German ultra-Left Opposition and sections of the British and American delegations, was rejected and the Comintern directed its course toward the masses in the reactionary unions. Without this decision the expansion of the Communist Parties of Europe as great organizations of the masses could not have taken place.

"MY LIFE"

All readers of the Militant and their friends, who desire to get their copy of of Leon Trotsky, "My Life", should make it a point to order the book directly through the Militant. Shipment will be made the day the order is received, and the cost of the book, five dollars, ($5.00), covers the postage charge. Send your order, together with money order or cash to

THE MILITANT
25 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y.

N.Y. Party-Y.C.L. Group for Opposition

(Continued from Page 1)

cover that we were always inclined towards heretical deviations, and that we never were much good anyway. There will be much slander and dirt as there has always been towards those comrades who have embraced the Marxian opinions of the Left Opposition. For the phrasemongers, shallow-minded bureaucrats, and despicable opportunists we have only contempt. We address ourselves to those sincere rank and file comrades who are devotedly sacrificing for Communism, but have been misled by the Browders, Fosters and Lovestones. Let there be no surprise for our and other comrades "sudden" conversion to the support of the Platform of the Left Opposition.

Bureaucratism Supreme

In a Party which no longer permits disagreements with the official line bureaucratically proclaimed—from above, in a Party in which there no longer exists the last vestige of centralized democracy, in a Party which demands only slavish obedience and mechanical execution of tasks, in a Party in which self-criticism means "Do not dare to criticize the leadership"—in such a Party where all honest opinion is driven underground, many unforeseen surprises are to be expected. When we read in the **Daily Worker** (June 3) such remarks as written by Herbert Benjamin, D.O. of the N. Y. District, as "No one in the Party now dares to deny the correctness of the basic analysis of the Comintern and Central Comittee," when we hear such remarks during a pre-convention discussion period then indeed do we declare that Party democracy is an absolutely dead institution.

The whole course in the Party and the Y.C.L. has shocked and aroused us. The present ultra-Left adventurist line, which is discrediting Communism in the eyes of the workers, and which is destroying whatever Communist influence there has been in the past, led us to a complete re-examinaton of the course pursued by the Party and the Comintern for the last seven years. We studied such basic and fundamental questions as socialism in one country, the Chinese Revolution, and the course of Soviet economy. **We found that in the past we had been deceived about these questions.** We found that Lovestone and Foster had lied about the Left Opposition and about the leader of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition in the U.S.S.R. and the International, comrade Trotsky. They suppressed the real opinions of the Opposition and ascribed to them false and untrue viewpoints. When for the first time we read the truth about the Menshevik and disastrous Chiang Kai-Shek course pursued by Bucharin-Stalin in the Chinese Revolution, we were stunned and appalled. Then we saw who are the real opportunists, and who carries forward the traditions of Lenin.

Fundamental Questions

From the beginning we avoided being provoked by the stupid blunders of the Party and falling precipitately into the opportunist arms of Lovestone. We avoided studying the problem superficially, that is, merely examine this or that tactical error, but went into the fundamental questions which we have mentioned. From Herberg of the Lovestone group we have heard such remarks as, **"Who cares about socialism in one country? I don't care one way or the other. The American working class is not concerned about socialism in one country".** We have known how to estimate such a crass opportunist and unprincipled approach to the international problems of the working class. Give the Lovestone faction a united front a la Kuomintang or pro-Purcell and they are happy. But for us the question cuts much deeper than that. For us the question is either the reactionary, utopian, anti-Marxian theory of socialism in one country—Lovestone's "exceptionalism" in a Russian dress—or a program of the internatonal revolution.

The Decline of Party Influence

Failure after failure stares the Party in the face. The most outstanding characteristic in the life of the Party today is its absolute inability to take advantage of the favorable objective conditions which confront it—the incessant lagging behind. In the old unions there is not to be found a trace of Party influence. Work there has been completely forsaken. The new unions have steadily dwindled, and whatever mass character they once had has disappeared. The membership drive has been a miserable failure. In the New York district out of the total recruitment, 40% never appeared and 18% dropped out immediately. The unemployment campaign has collapsed like a house of cards. What has happened to the million and a quarter workers who were supposed to be ready to follow the call of the Party? Why is no mass campaign started to free Foster and the others? Why is nothing done about the workers facing the electric chair in Atlanta, Georgia? Why is not a broad united front movement launched in accordance with the big possibilities and necessities of this case? Why is there such paralysis in the Party? What explains that there were only 300,000 workers demonstrating on May 1 while there were a million and a quarter on March 6? Scolding and trying to place the blame on the membership for not doing enough work cannot explain it. The reason is to be sought in the anti-Leninist theory of the "third period" and the ultra-Left adventuristic policies that follow from it. The empty shouting, the bombast, and sensationalism must be abandoned, the Party must return to the policies of Lenin, upheld by the Left Opposition.

Ruinous Policies

In the Young Communist League we have indeed seen a most deplorable state of affairs. The Y.C.L. does not seem to be able to hold the members who come into its ranks. The membership turnover has assumed an alarmingly rapid pace. Young workers come and go. Members who have been a short while in the League become passive and discouraged. They drop out or are expelled. This is the reaction to the bureaucratic regime, to the elimination of democracy, to the fact that they can find no opportunity for revolutionary expression inside the League, to the opportunism and adventurism of the present leadership. The Young Communists can only find a solution by finding their way to the platform of the Left Opposition.

Hence we demand:

1. The liquidation of the regime of bureaucratic suppression in the Comintern and the opening of an untrammeled discussion of the balance sheet of the Stalin regime and the Platform of the Bolshevik-Leninist Opposition these past six years.

2. The re-establishment of Party democracy and the re-instatement in the Party, International and the Soviet Union of the exiled and persecuted members of the Left Opposition.

3. The re-examination of the Program adopted at the Sixth World Congress and the elimination of all the revisionist theories of "socialism in one country", and the rejection of the Menshevik colonial and national policies pursued by the bureaucratic leadership in China and India.

Long live the Leninist Unity of the Communist International!

Long live the World Proletarian Revolution!

HARRY MILTON—Y.C.L.—Long Island Unit
M.MORRIS—Y.C.L.—Bronx Unit, No. 4
MORRIS SPECTOR—Y.C.L.—East New York Unit.
RAYMOND SPECTOR (George Ray)—Section 8, Unit 4
MAX STOVER—Section 1, Unit 3F
DAVE WEBER—Section 1, Unit 8F

A SQUEAK IN THE APPARATUS

(Continued from Page 4)

ultra-Right course the theoretician of which was Bucharin—deafened by the Stalinist apparatus, "flung" in the direction of complete collectivization. If for the peasantry the "flinging" is a historic misfortune, then for the Party as a conscious selection such a condition is not only a misfortune but a disgrace. It is the Stalinist regime, in which Yaroslavsky occupies a shameful but not the last place that brought the Party to this disgrace.

However, about which of my past views of the peasantry as an enemy force does Yaroslavsky write? Aren't they those views that I expressed, let us say, thirty years ago, during my first exile, and about which Yaroslavsky gave an immeasurably enthusiastic account in the Spring of 1923? "Around himself,", Yaroslavsky tells us, "Trotsky saw only the village. He was pained by its needs. He was depressed by its isolation and lack of rights", etc. Yaroslavsky considered it necessary not only to glorify my exceptional attention to the peasantry and acquaintance with the entire peasant life but he also demanded that my youthful articles on the peasantry should be compiled into a textbook for the study of the young generation. *Literally!*

I mentioned this grossly flattering response in my Autobiography throwing into the face of Yaroslavsky and may others of my critics their own words of yesterday. In connection with this Yaroslavsky speaks now about "Trotskys' self-praises" in his auto-biography. He only forgets to add that these "self-praises" consist of quotations taken form those under whose leadership the campaign of poison and slander—the dimensions of which were unparalleled—went on for the past seven years. To stir all this refuse does not give us any pleasure. In this I will be believed, not only by a revolutionist, but by any thinking man, who is not poisoned by the degrading spirit of a Chinovnick (bureaucrat) careerist. I merely carried out what I considered my revolutionary duty. Stalin and his Yaroslavskies carry on against me precisely because I represent a system of views which they despise.

For the sake of this struggle they considered it necessary to stir up the whole history of the Party and Revolution, not leaving a single, living point untouched. To defeat then their whole slanderous front it was not so much a matter of personal self-defence, as a matter of political secessity . I fulfilled this in several works. In the book "The Revolution Disfigured", "The Autobiography" and finally in the book on the "Permanent Revolution". In all these works, I expose on the basis of exact historic data, documents and quotations, the fraudulent web of the Stalinist school in which Yaroslavsky occupies a shameful but not the last place.

In regards to these books which have already been published in many languages and continue to be translated and republished, the Stalinists have adopted complete silence. Let them try and refute my exposition. Let them defend themselves against those slandersous contradictions, falsifications and slanders of which I accuse them on the basis of undeniable documents and more often on the basis of their own previous declarations. Let them deny at least one of the quotations or at least one iota of the evidence used by me. They cannot do it—they stand convicted by their own deeds. They are in the clamp of their own contradictions, they are compromised by their own denials, they are revealed ideologically impotent by the inconsistency of their own lies. Life is not stagnant. Life goes its way bearing out the criticism and prognosis of the Opposition.

Why the New Polemic ?

Why after all the preceeding liquidations, crushings and funerals of the Opposition is Yaroslavsky compelled or more correctly why was Yaroslavsky commissioend to entder into such a highly principled polemic with the Opposition? Even though with the grossest distortions, the eavesdropper was nevertheless compelled to quote the Paris Bulletin of the Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists) and to inform partly because of need, partly because of thoughtlessness something very inconvenient for the Stalinist faction.

If we look closer at Yaroslavsky's article we cannot but come to the conclusion that he wrote primarily in order to frighten the lower ranks of the Stalin apparatus. Bringing quotations from the **Bulletin,** clearly inconvenient for Stalin, Yaroslavsky speaks to some one: You hear what the Opposition says? Take care not to repeat these words! Under the pressure from the bottom the alarm in the apparatus is growing, the doubts in the leadership are growing and the voices condemning the latest zig-zag are growing. Precisely in view of this Yaroslavsky so unexpectedly speaks of Trotsky's hopes to be called upon to "save" the Revolution. Yaroslavsky was slightly over-conscientious—ran too far ahead and revealed an over-abundant alarm. A squeak in the apparatus is heard, and Yaroslavsky "frightens"—whom? His own people: sit straight, be silent, whether you believe or do not believe in the genius of the leadership; be silent, do not arouse any doubts, i. not the apparatus is threatened by an "intervention" of Trotskyism! This is the sense of Yaroslavsky's article, this is what its political music consists of.

But this music can no longer drown the squeak in the apparatus. As a result of the most recent tests, which showed that the leadership plays around brainlessly, the differentiation inside the Party will greatly increase. The Rights will undoubtedly experience a new growth, will bring forth new leaders, perhaps with lesser names but more fundamental and more persistent. This danger must be foreseen. But also in the proletarian core of the Party a deep awakening will take place, undoubtedly is taking place already.

From day to day the urge to understand the latest Left jump in connection with the whole "general" line which alas, does not exist in nature, will grow. It is quite possible that the pre-Congress discussion will not be as quiet as the Bonapartist elements would like. The news that Stalin attempted once more to postpone the Congress until the Autumn, that is to complete another alternative "overturn", the one hundred and first by this time, and that his own Central Committee resisted is highly credible and at the same time very symptomatic. This signifies the beginning of the Party's awakening.

A new chapter opens before the Opposition—a very responsible one. Outside of the Opposition nobody will give the Party a clear picture of what is happening at present in unbreakable connection with the policy of the whole period after the death of Lenin. No one except the Opposition is able to secure for the Party a correct principled orientation.

The eavesdropper cites new declarations of repentance and skeptical voices of single Oppositionists. By the combined forces of the starvation diet, of G. P. U. measures, Yaroslavsky's admonitions, and the theoretical belaborings of the red-yellow professors, a new group of capitulators is being prepared for the Sixteenth Congress. But Yaroslavsky passes in silence the new hundreds of arrested Oppositionists in Miscow alone, the revival of the activities of the Opposition in the Party ranks and the growth and consolidation of the International Opposition.

Singly and by groups, Oppositionists who went dizzy over the complete collectivization are compelled by the logic of inertia to present their repentance to the Sixteenth Congress, at a moment when the difficult process of sobering up is beginning. Well, another group of crushed revolutionary reputations will be added. In their stead many hundreds more have already come out according to the statistics of the G.P.U. tomorrow thousands and tens of thousands will follow. It is not the Yaroslavskys who can break the Opposition away from the Party, no, now less than at any time before.

Prinkipo, April 13, 1930.

BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN OPPOSITION

Published in the Russian Language

Number 11

— CONTENTS —

A Big Step Forward; L. Trotsky—Towards Capitalism or Towards Socialism. Some more on comrade Blumkin. L. Trotsky — A Squeak in the Apparatus; Y. Gref—The Collectivization of the Villages; I. E.—Collectivization in Central Asia; N.—Apparatus Falsity and Reality; Kote Czinczadze—A Letter to M. Okudszava; Letters From the Soviet Union.
THE PROBLEMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEFT OPPOSITION
L. Trotsky—An open Letter to the Italian Communists of the Prometeo Group; G. Manuryn and the Comintern; From a Group of Former Red Army Slovaks to all the Former Fighters of the Red Army; T.—Mayakovsky's Suicide; Zaslavsky—The Prop of Stalinism; A Voice from the Apparatus Ranks; N. M.—The forgetful Miasnikov; and other importnat items.

25 cents each 18c in bundles

Send orders and funds to

THE MILITANT

25 Third Avenue New York, N. Y.

- THE YOUNG VANGUARD -

Y.P.S.L. Appeals to Young Babbittry

The Young People's Socialist League represents the interests of the petty-bourgeois youth. These interests are hostile and dangerous to those of the young workers They run counter to each other, and clash irreconcilably. The petty-bourgeois youth aspires to establish himself comfortably and securely in some well-paying profession. In the Yipsels he can pursue his personal ambtions of well-being congenially and at the same time retain his "ideals". His interest is to preserve the capitalist relations which permit within its confines the fulfillment of his small-minded desires. Revolution and revolutionary working class activity is abhorrent to him. But capitalism with its innate contradictions refuses to run smoothly, and often disturbances occur which menace the attainments of the puny aims of the petty-bourgeois youth. Then he talks fiercely against capitalism, and indeed becomes terribly radical.

We have before us an appeal of the Y.P.S.L. entitled "Young Man, Young Woman—What are You Going to Do With Your Life?" which is eloquently expressive of the nature of this organization. It begins by saying that every young man and woman has two big things to think about. "The first is important...It is how you are going to make a living. But the answer to the second is even more important, for upon it depends the way you are going to live your life." Truly this could be said only to people to whom the question of earning a living is a matter of slight concern, something about which it is not necessary to worry, not a life and death question. And indeed, are we not all to be dentists, doctors or lawyes Join the Yipsels not because it will help you to fight for better working conditions in your shop or factory, but in order to learn how to spend your money "culturally" and your leisure time "idealistically".

Socialist "Doctors and Dentists"

Then America's future doctors and dentists go on to say, "Every young man and woman who is at school or college every youth who knows that school days will soon be over and that the struggles for a living are looming just ahead (this probably refers to the less successful dentists —G.R.) has to make a decision very soon as to how his life is to be led". Yes, indeed, we forgot all about our college education. There are apparently millions of college graduates working in factories for 14 dollars per week But the poor fools have only themselves to blame. Who asked them to become B.A.'s. They should have become M.D.'s and D.D.S.'s.

The Yipsels perhaps do not know that one out of every four children who enter school never reach the sixth grade, that almost one half never reach the eighth grade, and that less than one third of the school age population enter high school, and that but one in eight graduates. It is not worth speaking of the number who graduate college. How can such facts concern petty bourgeois Yipsels?

And now listen to this most illuminating outlook on life—revealing the true soul of the American Yipsels: "Now after you are earning a living (such an unimportant and simple matter, you know—G.R.) or pursuing a course that will lead to such an honest and decent living (it's either the one or the other, of course,—G.R.)—what next? What are you going to do with yourself and your life?

"Are you going to establish a home, sit back, enjoy life to the extent of your means, and call it a day? Are you going to blind your eyes to the world around you?

"Most men and women realize that merely earning a living and then going to the movies and motoring does not constitue a complete and wholesome life.

"There must be something else."

The Conditons of the Working Youth

There are over ten million toiling youth in the United States, of whom more than five million are exploited in industry. There are over two and a half million child laborers. The average wage of the young worker is about $14, and his working day is about 10 hours under very bad conditions. Since the war there has been an intensive rationalization process which has drawn millions of young workers into industry and increased his importance in industry. There are some industries which employ exclusively or very large proportions of young workers And amidst all this the Yipsels shout "There must be something else." As if in mockery of the bitterly and miserably exploited working youth who of course establish homes, sit back and enjoy life, go motoring and other such delightful pastimes, the middle class philistines advise "So while we do not suggest even for a moment that you give up any of your good times, that you cease enjoying yourself, we ask you to turn your thoughts to those questtions that face your elders, and will face you."

Trotsky on the Grown-Up Yipsel

Permit me to quote comrade Trotsky's excellent and fitting description of this type of people. "In the United States there is a large group of successful and semi-successful doctors, lawyers, dentists, engineers and the like who divide their precious hours of rest between concerts by European celebrities and the American Socialist party. Their attitude towards life is composed of shreds and fragments of the wisdom they absorbed in their student days. Since they all have automombiles, they are invariably elected to the important committees, commissions and delegations of the party.. And properly speaking they are simply variants of "Babbitt", who supplements his commercial activity with dull Sunday meditations on the future of humanity. These people live in small national clans, in which the solidarity of ideas usually serves as a screen for business connections. Each clan has its own leader, usually the most prosperous of the Babbitts They tolerate all ideas provided they do not undermine their traditional authority and do not threaten—God forbid!—their personal comfort!"

It would be an unjust slander to say that the post war generation of Yipsel Babbitts are in any way inferior to their Babbit elders in the Socialist party.

—GEORGE RAY

Self-Criticism

The "self-criticism" of the ruling faction consists in making tardy admissions of the least significant of the errors they committed, without indicating any connection between them, or the basis upon which they arose. The important and more dangerous mistakes committed by them are "admitted" only under the most severe pressure and even then, in most cases they are falsely ascribed to the opponents of the very errors. The nature of the errors, the reasons and reponsibility for them, are never repeated in the same form, or else they are repeated in an inverted form caused by irresponsible swings to the opposite extreme.

A genuine Leninist self-criticism is a primary requisite for the establishment of clarity, the raising of the ideological level of the Party and the elimination of the distrust and cynicism caused by its absence. Instead of self-criticism, the Party leadership has instituted a regime of diplomacy, concealment, distortion, and self-praise. Its own "achievements" are paraded and exaggerated in the most revolting shopkeeper's manner. A blank check of immunity from any error or crime is an automatic premium to any of its faction supporters.

— FROM THE PLATFORM OF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSITION ADOPTED (CHICAGO) MAY 20, 1929.

OPPOSITION RECRUITS YOUTH

In this issue of the **Militant** there appears a statement signed by a group of Party and Young Communist League members. This group represent the advance guard in the slow but steady march toward the Left Opposition which is bound to occur in the coming period among the Communist Youth now under the influence of the Stalinist regime or the Right Wing. Shallow-minded people may under-estimate the importance of this development because they do not see large numbers rushing forward to the support of the Left Opposition. But revolutionists, unlike opportunists who can base themselves only upon what happens under their nose have perspective and can project the meaning of immediate events into the future beyond the limits of tangible occurrences.

This declaration is not a detached and accidental event separated from the processes at work within the ranks of the Y.C.L. It is indicative of certain trends. These three comrades who have now proclaimed their adherence to the Left Opposition are by no means the only ones in the Y.C.L. today who are **definitely** for our platform. But for each one of those who are for us, there are many who are thinking and studying our viewpoint, and in due time will be with us.

Right Wingers Distortions

In the Y.C.L. there is a growing resentment and dissatisfaction, still weak and submerged, toward the prevailing course. The Lovestone opportunists are trying to divert this sentiment in their direction. But all young Communists are not to be deceived so easily . There are many who are not superficial or lightminded and will insist upon examining the platform of the Left Opposition. It is very significant that among those who are definitely for us today there are a number who were formerly supporters of the Lovestone group during the period when it constituted the leadership of the American Party. In the last issue of **Revolutionary Youth** under the query of "What is Trotskyism?" there is a whole page devoted to the distortion and misrepresentation of our viewpoint. There it is stated that "Trotskyism" is of very [illegible] United States, and that the only reason they speak of it is for educational purposes. But for anyone in the least acquainted with the Lovestone methods, this is just so much duplicity. The truth is that the Right wing in their efforts to win the more advanced comrades in the Y.C.L. have detected a current which flows in our direction.

The Future to the Youth

Despite these favorable developments, we harbor no illusions about our future growth. We realize that our inevitable victory is not a matter of weeks or months but years. Today we are assembling our forces, slowly, in small numbers. We are creating the cadres which will play a big and decisive role in the future of the revolutionary movement. A large proportion of this vanguard will be formed from the youth elements of today. The regime of bureaucracy and political corruption which has dominated the Comintern to an increasing degree in the last seven years, has incapacitated forever for revolutionary leadership the greater part of the present Party cadres. These will have to be replaced from amongst the youth. Here lies one of the most importatn tasks of the Left Opposition: to educate the youth in the real spirit of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism.

The platform of the Left Opposition will surely attract the Communist youth. It is permeated through and through with the spirit of revolution. It clashes with and repels everything that is narrow, provincial, and nationalistic. It is the antithesis of opportunism. It forms a harmonious whole in which all questions are linked to the main question of world revolution. That is why it is entirely in accord with the bold and revolutionary spirit of militant youth. It is necessary to reach them with it. We must shatter the barriers of prejudice and deception built for years by the Lovestones and the Fosters.

We are marching forward. The bureaucratic walls are showing signs of decay . To continue our work more effectively among the youth we are now faced with the question of the formation of an organization of the Opposition youth as a faction of the Y.C.L. Its outlines can already be discerned. In due time it will become a reality on a national scale.

—S. [illegible]

License for Shriners Clubs for Workers

An object lesson in the uses of capitalist laws can be gained by the working class in examining an event that has just taken place in Toronto.

An organization known as the Ancient Arabic Order of Noble Mystic Shriners annually holds a convention, each yearly convocation being celebrated in a different city. This year Toronto was chosen as the place of meeting, the main attraction no doubt being the alluring glimmer of sparkling beer and whiskey. The Shriners, as this organization is usually known, is a branch of the Masonic Order; to become a Mason one must have affluence, influence and money; to graduate from a Mason into a full-fledged shriner further affluence influence and money are the pre-requisite.

The first day of the Convention finds Shriners bedecked in outrageous medieval costumes thronging the streets, bands roam around, and headed by mounted policemen processions march through the main thoroughfares disrupting traffic and dislocating the routine of the day. Throughout the three day convention these antics continue sporadically ,and according to capitalist laws they violated practically every municipal traffic regulation. Were they arrested? No, nothing is mentioned, they are upheld and condoned by their paid servant, the chief of police. Disgraceful scenes are perpetrated in the open street, vagrancy and loitering laws are plentifully broken. Were they charged with committing breaches of the law? Certainly not, the Shriners are just frisky and besides "this is our convention and we have the freedom of the city," they say. The police put the telescope to the blind eye when breaches are committed. Bacchus reigns and prostitutes reap a golden harvest. Practically every law was broken (and how!). Was punishment meted out to these Shriners? Why, says Chief of Police Draper, the budding dictator, we all had the time of our lives, no laws were broken and everybody enjoyed himself.

A fitting climax to the convention was a "peace" parade in which hundreds of Legionnaires in full uniform, steel helmet and guns with fixed bayonets marched. The 1930 version of peace.

License for "Shriners", Clubbings for Workers

Now let us look at the other side of the picture. The Communist Party calls a meeting in a park where incidentally, even capitalist laws are hard to break. The mounted police are present here also, and the workers feel the clubs as proof of their presence. No speeches are allowed and workers are refused the right to assemble. What have they done? Why, says Draper, these Bolsheviks have committed sedition, are vagrants, scoundrels, etc., etc., and immediately places these charges against the workers.

An unemployed delegation is met at the City Hall by the same police who met the Shriners. But what a difference in manner of greeting! Welcome for the parasites; clubbings and arrests for the workers by whose means these parasites are enabled to live in luxury. But when a worker at an election meeting says "Long live the Indian Revolution" he is arrested and a sedition charge placed against him. And now an edict has been issued against the holding of workers' picnics.

These are common occurrences wherever capitalism prevails. The bourgeoisie rules; they can do anything they please, they are the masters. Laws are made to impose upon the workers in case they become infected with "dangerous thoughts" resulting from a dangerous social system. Bosses make the laws, for use upon the workers.

In the face of the police terror in Toronto the Communist Party is unable to mobilize forces to combat it. With its "third period" tactics it is isolated, impotent. All healthy elements are strangled; the real Party slogan today is Stalinism, not Communism. The future lies in the hands of the Opposition and the correctness of its programme will be proven in the coming struggles

—S. [illegible]

Ten individual holding each ranging from 250,000 shares upwards control the General Motors Corporation through the ownership of 20,000,000 shares.

The DuPont powder interests combined with the managementt interest controls 75 per cent of the 15 million shares. Under these circumstances what substance can the point have that there has veen an increase of "165 percent in the number of small shareholders? (from 83, 415 on Feb. 16, 1929 to 218.413, Jan. 24, 1930.)